

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01139 01 OF 02 071153Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----071158Z 096392 /42

P R 070815Z JUN 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7939
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TAPIEI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1139

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY VANCE FROM FORMER UNDER SECRETARY SISCO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CH, US, UR, TW

SUBJ: SISCO'S CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA

1. "AS TO THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT'S CARTER'S
ADMINISTRATION WE WILL LISTEN TO HIS WORDS AND
WATCH HIS ACTIONS. IT WILL DEPEND ON THESE HOW THINGS
WILL GO".

2. THIS WAS THE WATCHFUL WAITING POSTURE STRUCK IN A
SURPRISINGLY LONG THREE HOUR TALK I HAD JUNE 6 WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA AT HIS INVITATION. MY
JUDGMENT AND THAT OF CHARGE DEAN WHO ACCOMPANIED ME
IS THAT FM DECIDED TO SEEK OCCASION TO PRESENT FULL
EXPOSITION OF PRINCIPAL THEMES OF CURRENT PRC POLICY,
WITH EXPECTATION I WOULD REPORT HIS VIEWS TO WASHINGTON.

3. OF INTEREST ALSO, AFTER I TWICE TRIED TO CONCLUDE
CONVERSATION, WAS FACT HUA TOOK FULL 45 MINUTES TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01139 01 OF 02 071153Z

DETAIL INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY
ACTIVITIES OF GANG OF FOUR (NOTHING NEW).

4. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF PRINCIPAL POINTS MADE
BY FOREIGN MINISTER.

A. THERE HAVE BEEN NO CHANGES IN PRC POLICY. WE

WELCOME PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT THAT U.S. REMAINS COMMITTED TO PRINCIPLES OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. HOWEVER, STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND OTHER RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT AND COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF TAIWAN CONTRADICTED ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT OF SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES. QUESTION OF U.S. ATTITUDES TOWARDS TAIWAN IS "CRUCIAL" TO DEVELOPMENT OF U.S.- PRC RELATIONS. IF ADMINISTRATION WERE TO ADOPT A TWO CHINA OR ONE CHINA-ONE TAIWAN POLICY, THIS WOULD AFFECT ADVERSELY US-PRC RELATIONS. PRC WILL NOT UNDERTAKE A "PEACEFUL LIBERATION" OF TAIWAN, WHICH IS AN INTERNAL MATTER; IT INEVITABLE PRC WILL HAVE TO USE FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN'S RULERS. HUA EXPRESSED NORMALIZATION HINGES ON FULFILLMENT OF PREVIOUSLY STATED THREE CONDITIONS: SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS AND ABROGATION OF MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY.

B. HE CONTENDED U.S. MAKING "BIG HUE AND CRY" ABOUT MINOR MATTERS SUCH AS FROZEN ASSETS; THESE ARE NOT IMPORTANT MATTERS BUT "PETTY TACTICS" HAVING NO BEARING ON OVERALL SITUATION. HUA SAID "IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER ASSETS QUESTION GETS RESOLVED OR NOT". HE CONCLUDED, "IF THE U.S. CANNOT NORMALIZE RELATIONS IT SHOULD SAY SO AND BE HONEST AND NOT TAKE PETTY ACTIONS".

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 01139 01 OF 02 071153Z

C. IN RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION, USG TENDING TO PURSUE A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT. AS U.S. DECLINES MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY, IT IS TRYING TO RELAX RELATIONS BY PROVIDING TECHNOLOGY, TRADE, WHILE RECOGNIZING SOVIET SPHERES OF INFLUENCE. THIS WILL INFLATE SOVIET AGGRESSIVE AMBITIONS, WEAKEN VIGILANCE OF U.S. PEOPLE AND UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE OF NATO PARTNERS IN U.S. HE DESCRIBED SOVIET POLICY AS "FEINTING IN THE EAST BUT THEIR MAIN FOCUS IS IN THE WEST", IN EUROPE WHERE SOVIETS ARE "TRYING TO MAKE USE OF U.S. POLICY OF APPEASEMENT TO DEFEAT WESTERN COUNTRIES ONE BY ONE". IN THIS REGARD, HE WELCOMED THE MOVES OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO IMPROVE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, ADDING JAPAN EQUALLY IMPORTANT. HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH U.S. AND WESTERN PARTNERS, IN AFTERMATH RECENT SUMMIT, WILL TAKE TO BRING GREATER UNITY AND STRENGTH INTO THE 80'S.

D. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HUA PRESSED FOR GREATER SUPPORT BY U.S. OF ARAB POSITION. HE DETECTED SOME POSITION CHANGES AND EVOLUTIONS IN CARTER ADMINISTRATION POLICY, BUT HE WARNED OF REPEATED TRIALS OF STRENGTH WITH USSR IN AREA.

E. IN AFRICA, HUA SAW DEVELOPMENTS AS FURTHER EVIDENCE SOVIETS SEEKING WORLD HEGEMONY AND WERE ATTEMPTING TO OUTFLANK AND CONTROL EUROPE. HE SAID U.S. POLICY HAD IGNORED STRENGTH OF BLACK AFRICANS, AND THAT WE ARE "TOO SOFT

AND TOO WEAK" IN FACE OF SOVIET OFFENSIVE.

5. MAKING CLEAR THROUGHOUT TALK I WAS SPEAKING STRICTLY AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN, I MADE FOLLOWING PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PEKING 01139 01 OF 02 071153Z

A. MY GENERAL BELIEF THAT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN PERIOD AHEAD WILL BE MARKED BY: (1) STRONG PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP; (2) MORE OPEN DECISION MAKING PROCESS; (3) MORE SHARING OF EXECUTIVE WITH AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS, AND (4) EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS TEMPERED BY THE PRACTICAL REALITIES OF WHAT MAY PROVE ACHIEVABLE ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS.

B. THAT WHILE FOREIGN POLICY IMPORTANT, AND U.S. ROLE KEY, MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AND NUMBER ONE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION IS INTERNAL: INFLATION, JOBS, ENERGY, AND ECONOMY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01139 02 OF 02 071205Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----071210Z 096523 /42

P R 070815Z JUN 77
FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7940
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 1139

EXDIS

C. THAT PRC SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT ANY SOLUTION
OF TAIWAN ISSUE THAT WOULD ENCOURAGE SOVIETS TO
THINK USG WAS BACKING AWAY FROM ITS COMMITMENTS AND
TREATY OBLIGATIONS WOULD NOT SERVE NATIONAL INTERESTS
OF EITHER U.S. OR PRC.

D. THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS NOT IN MY JUDGMENT
PURSUING POLICY OF APPEASEMENT. RATHER IT SEEKING
DETENTE BASED ON RECIPROCITY, MAINTENANCE OF
STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE UNDER-
STANDINGS WHICH WOULD HOPEFULLY MAKE IT LESS DESIRABLE
FOR SOVIETS TO PRACTICE "SELECTIVE DETENTE".
POINTED OUT RECENT SUBSTANTIAL DEFENSE BUDGET WHICH
PROVIDES FOR AMPLE STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL
CAPACITY AND RECENT DECISION TO MAKE U.S. MILITARY
CAPACITY MORE EFFECTIVE AGAINST SOVIET TARGETS.
MOREOVER, SALT II TALKS PROCEEDING WITH VIEW TO MAIN-
TAINING PARITY. UNDERSCORED MY FEELING PRESIDENT
CARTER WILL NOT ALLOW BALANCE TO TIP AGAINST U.S.
E. THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS OPTED FOR AN ACTIVE
U.S. ROLE ON ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE
HAVING HAD SERIES OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01139 02 OF 02 071205Z

HIGH LEVEL EXCHANGES, AND
HAVING PRIMED THE PUMP FOR NEGOTIATION IN LAYING
OUT FRAMEWORK, INCLUDING NATURE OF PEACE,
SUBSTANTIAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, AND HOMELAND FOR
PALESTINIANS. INDICATIONS ARE NEW ADMINISTRATION
NOT BEING DIVERTED BY SETBACK OF ISRAELI ELECTIONS.
EXPRESSED VIEW IT NECESSARY TO PREPARE GROUNDWORK
CAREFULLY RATHER THAN HAVE AN ABORTED GENEVA CONFER-
ENCE. EXPRESSED MY BELIEF THAT DESPITE ALL OBVIOUS
DIFFICULTIES IN SITUATION, U.S. CATALYTIC ROLE
ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES BEST WAY TO HELP MAKE
PROGRESS AND REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOVIET
RESURGENCE IN AREA. EXPRESSED VIEW CARTER
ADMINISTRATION MOVING EFFECTIVELY IN MIDDLE EAST.

F. MY IMPRESSION THAT NEW EMPHASIS ON BLACK AFRICA
BY CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS ALREADY BULWARKED

ACTIVE U.S. DIPLOMACY TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL
SOLUTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIAN AND NAMBIAN
PROBLEM.

POINTED OUT ALSO NEW FOCUS ON NEED FOR
SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA AS REFLECTED IN
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S RECENT TRIP.

G. THAT MANY IN U.S. WERE IMPRESSED WITH THE
PEACEFUL TRANSITION IN CHINA WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE
FOLLOWING DEATH OF MAO.

6. TWO WEEK TRIP HERE OF MRS. SISCO AND MYSELF IS
AT THE INVITATION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WE HAVE BEEN TREATED VERY
CORDIALLY IN PEKING AND OTHER PARTS OF CHINA.
I AM SENDING YOU THIS PERSONAL CABLE SINCE I
FIND THAT AFTER 25 YEARS OF DOING THIS THE HABIT
IS NOT EASILY BROKEN. I WILL BE GGMD TO DROP IN TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 01139 02 OF 02 071205Z

DEPARTMENT UPON MY RETURN. APPRECIATED MUCH PRIOR
BRIEFING GIVEN TO ME BY HOLBROOKE, GLEYSTEN AND
DEAN.
DEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 07-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING01139
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770202-0481
Format: TEL
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770683/aaaacumc.tel
Line Count: 253
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3693bf83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2248356
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SISCO'S CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA
TAGS: PFOR, CH, US, TW, UR, XF, XA, (HUANG HUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3693bf83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009